UNIVERSITY OF ... JUL 8 1946

New Republic

July 8, 1946 · Fifteen Cents

After the OPA

Monopoly Tightens Its Grip by Nathan Robertson

The Bomb, the Veto and the Future by T. K. Finletter

How We Won in Massachusetts by Henry R. Silberman

China Moves a River by Lawrence K. Rosinger

Olivier's "Henry V" by Manny Farber

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

	IN 1940		IN 1948		IN 1965		Improvement between 1940 and 1965
	INCOME		INCOME		INCOME		
Lower Income Families	7.0 BILLIONS	9%	20.5 BILLIONS	13%	59.5 BILLIONS	17%	540%
Middle Income Families	18 BILLIONS	24%	42.5 BILLIONS	27%	115.5 BILLIONS	33%	400%
Upper Income Families	51 BILLIONS	67%	94.0 BILLIONS	60%	175 BILLIONS	50%	166%
TOTAL NATIONAL INCOME	76 BILLIONS		157.0 BILLIONS		350 BILLIONS		

This table from Chester Bowles' book shows how your family can live better and better . . . if we take the right road

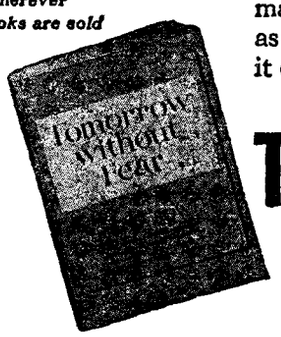
CHESTER BOWLES, Director of Economic Stabilization, was Chairman of the Board of Benton & Bowles, one of the nation's largest advertising agencies, before becoming a government official. In his book TOMORROW WITHOUT FEAR, he says that free enterprise and a truly democratic system of government can work together to create a plentiful future for all of us.

He shows how we can have more things to buy, and more money to buy them with if we handle our economy right. He makes it clear exactly how each family can fare better in a greatly expanded American economy.

One of the many important figures who have praised this book is Marriner Eccles, Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, who says: "Everyone should read this informed and enlightening book."

Economists and critics have hailed TOMORROW WITHOUT FEAR as a brilliant, optimistic new plan for harnessing the American way of life to make it produce at its maximum capacity for every citizen, and as a clear call to private enterprise to step up and show what it can do.

$1.00
Wherever books are sold



TOMORROW WITHOUT FEAR

by Chester Bowles

U. S. DIRECTOR OF STABILIZATION

SIMON AND SCHUSTER, PUBLISHERS • ROCKEFELLER CENTER • NEW YORK 20, N.Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. 115, NO. 1 NEW YORK, MONDAY, JULY 8, 1946 NUMBER 1649

After the OPA

I. For a Buyers' Strike

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S VETO of the fake price-control bill passed by the Congress is the most statesmanlike action he has yet taken in his term of office. Now it is up to the American people, and particularly to the liberals who have been quickest to point out his many shortcomings, to back him up. The first job is to let Congress know all over again how much the people really want price control, how much they will resent and revenge its removal. Congress was really impressed by the flood of pro-OPA messages it received following its spring recess. But that flood receded and the NAM tide of pressure began to come in at the most strategic possible time in the fight for renewal of the Price Control Act. The result is what we witnessed in Washington over the last week-end. The tide against inflation can be turned again if the opposition is large enough in volume. Have you written your letter, sent your telegram, signed the petition to your Senator and Representative? Next week may be too late. Then write also to President Truman praising him for his stand and urging him to continue to fight.

Unless Congress reënacts something very close to the Price Control Act which expired last Sunday night, there is no hope for us in legislation. It will be up to consumers to protect themselves. That means more and better organization than we have ever had before. Those liberals who have looked down their noses at consumers' organizations in the past should have no difficulty now in seeing the need to make common cause for their own defense against the profiteers. So far as we of the *New Republic* can see, there is no better move immediately than a buyers' strike, of the kind that spontaneously occurred following the last war. Don't buy anything you don't absolutely have to have. Don't buy anything except food, medicines and the most essential clothing replacements. Keep your money in your pocket until, together, we can force some new guarantees for our standard of living. The less you buy now, the safer your savings, your war bonds, your insurance and annuities.

II. Political Storm Warnings

THE PRESIDENT'S courageous veto of the phony OPA-extension bill, together with the refusal by Congress to pass adequate price-control legislation, may provide an issue for this year's congressional elections that will shake the voters out of their apathy and result in the election of a better Congress.

Before the President's dramatic challenge to Congress on the issue of price control, it had seemed likely that confusion and apathy among the voters would lead to the election of a Congress at least as bad, and probably worse, than the one that has been doing such a bad job for the past two years.

But the President's strong veto message has provided a major issue for the elections—an issue so clear-cut and vital that it may overshadow the narrow local political considerations that usually rule in the selection of congressmen. In the North and West, where the election is really decided, it provides a clear-cut party issue for the Democrats in their contest with Republican candidates. Republicans from these areas have been voting almost solidly against adequate price control, while the Democrats have supported it.

Spiraling prices during the election campaign would focus the anger and attention of usually apathetic voters upon issues as personified by the men up for election from their own localities. The higher prices go, the more likely it is that public wrath will descend upon the Republicans who have opposed President Truman not only on price control but on most other constructive measures for solving the nation's problems. With voters conscious of the pressure of inflation, there is a strong possibility that public anger will bring a major political revolt.

In a single skillful stroke the President has drama-

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1946, IN THE U.S.A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tized the issue just as effectively as an issue is dramatized in the British parliamentary system when a break between the Prime Minister and Parliament forces a new election. The President's action breathes new life into the campaign and perhaps will save him and the whole liberal movement from a major political disaster.

Supporters of price control, who, according to most polls, include an overwhelming majority of the American people, now have a chance to throw out of office the men who voted for higher prices.

III. How the OPA Died

As MEMBERS streamed out of the House on Saturday after killing price control by sustaining the President's veto and failing to pass a simple resolution continuing the Act, one Representative softly sang the Air Forces' song: "Off we go into the wild blue yonder, riding high into the sky."

There was little doubt that Congress had headed the country for the "wild blue yonder." Yielding completely to the pressure of business lobbies, Congress was not checked in its determination to vitiate or destroy price control either by a solemn veto message from the President, or by the resignation of Chester Bowles as Director of Economic Stabilization.

OPA haters derisively voted, along with those who favored effective price control, to sustain the veto. It was part of the irony that has dogged the Price Control Act all through its congressional course that friends and foes were forced to vote the same way, although the one group acted to destroy price control and the other to save it.

A true division will come when a vote is taken on the resolution to continue price control intact until July 20, or until Congress can write a workable bill the President can accept. While the House, under its rules, will pass upon the resolution after a brief floor debate, the Senate resolution will have to go through the Banking and Currency Committee. If it reaches the floor in less than two or three weeks, it will be surprising.

Another, perhaps fatal, catch will be that the resolution may be amended in both Houses. All the crippling amendments which the President said would destroy the government's power to stabilize the economy could be written in, and others too. Senate majority leader Barkley wearily predicted that "all the dogs and cats" will be thrown in.

Whether the Price Control Act the President requested ever will emerge from Congress is anyone's guess. If business groups out for a kill shoot prices into the stratosphere, and landlords start doubling rents, the revulsion may be so strong that Congress will rush to pass an effective statute. A number of court opinions have held that an act may be continued after its expiration.

On the other hand, if business takes it easy and shows a degree of moderation in the beginning, there is a strong prospect that nothing will be done, and that the OPA will remain dead. Outside of flash price increases, it fortunately or unfortunately takes a little while for an inflation to gather momentum.

For the time being, the country may be slightly better off with no price control than it would have been with the sham act passed by Congress. Under the amendment devised by Senator Taft (R, Ohio) manufacturers and producers could have obtained almost any price increase they demanded. The OPA, totally lacking the staff to check the data submitted within the 60 days allowed, would have been forced to give the thousands of applicants what they wanted, and the stories in the newspapers would have read, "OPA allows price increases on ——." Now the blame will rest squarely where it belongs. This may be a tempering influence.

Withholding also may be less than it would have been under the Taft amendment. Until the Taft increases went into effect, few producers with a warehouse handy would have shipped anything.

In the longer run, there seems to be no doubt that the President was right in saying that either the inflationary bill passed by Congress or no control at all will lead to unbridled inflation and to disaster. Booms are always followed by a bust: collapse always come after inflation. Attainment of the full production and full employment that seem to be shining ahead would be impossible under such conditions. Furthermore, as the President devastatingly pointed out, inflation and collapse in this country would shake the whole world.

If Congress appeared at its sorriest in the whole price-control debacle, the President and Bowles emerged with new stature. It took rare courage on Mr. Truman's part to veto the bill. His own congressional leaders were urging him to sign; he knew the risk he ran, but he chose the course of honesty. His veto message and his address to the people were clear, incisive and challenging. By their logic alone they should have convinced even a Senator.

Chester Bowles also acted with a courage and concern for the general welfare that are found only in great men. Before he knew what action the President would take, he stepped out of the way on the chance that his resignation might remove some congressional opposition. His considerate action capped an excellent record in the toughest job outside the presidency.

Thanks to Bowles and the men around him, the country for the first time in history went through a war without a runaway inflation. If the battle was lost in the postwar period, it was not for lack of fighting on his part. In the course of the struggle he may have given the people an education in what inflation means and how it can be avoided that may yet save the day.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bikini

Just what the enormously ballyhooed atom-bomb explosion at Bikini proved, we don't know. For that matter, we still don't know just what it was supposed to prove. The bomb sank two transports, capsized a cruiser and did heavy damage to three cruisers, a carrier and a submarine, as well as various degrees of destruction to numerous other ships. That sounds pretty substantial; but the Navy appears to be delighted that the results were not more serious, and to feel that it can go on building ships at top speed.

The Bomb, the Veto and the Future

By Thomas K. Finletter

A great decision will be made in the UN Atomic Energy Commission in the next weeks. To be sure, the Commission can only recommend, and whatever plan it produces must be approved by the Security Council and by the member governments of the UN acting through their constitutional processes. But the recommendations of the Commission will chart the path. They may, in effect, be final. They may determine the course of history.

A frightening choice faces Mr. Baruch and his colleagues. For the Commission has not yet decided what it is trying to do. What is its mandate, or rather how will it construe its mandate? Is it trying only to eliminate the atom bomb, and possibly some other peculiarly horrible weapons, from national armaments? Is it, in other words, limiting itself to making rules for the next war? Or is it trying to eliminate war itself?

It is possible that the Commission will seek only to make rules for the next war. Dr. Lange, in arguing for the Russian plan, said that it was based on the Geneva Protocol of 1925 outlawing poison gas. Now the very essence of a plan aimed at certain weapons only, whether it would limit the amount of them (as in the case of the old five-five-three ratio for warships) or would eliminate entirely some of them, such as poison gas, atomic bombs, germ sprayers or anything else, is that it assumes the continuance of war. The very fact that such a plan limits itself to particular weapons means that it excludes from its operation, and therefore makes no attempt to prevent, the use of the other weapons. It would try to make war less horrible (especially to civilians), but it would put its stamp of approval on war itself. If the Atomic Energy Commission plan seeks only to outlaw a limited number of weapons, it will not only assume but will assure the continuance of war.

But it is not certain that the Commission will come out for this unsatisfactory objective. Mr. Baruch's proposals to the UN Atomic Energy Commission show clearly that he believes that only by the elimination of war itself can the mandate of the Commission be fulfilled. Why? In the first place because that is what we are, or at least should be, trying to do. The cynical concept of making Marquis of Queensbury rules for the next war does not appeal to Mr. Baruch and his advisers. And, second, even if we were to assume that such was our purpose, Mr. Baruch's proposals show that he does not believe that we can allow the nations to possess great armaments in all but a few weapons and at the same time be able to bar effectively a few weapons which are particularly distasteful to civilian populations. In other words, the elimination of war is not only an imperative of its own, but it is the only way in which any weapons can be effectively outlawed. "In the elimination of war lies our solution," the Baruch proposals say. "For only then will nations cease to compete with one another in the production and use of dread secret weapons which are evaluated solely by their capacity to kill."

The awful choice before the Atomic Commission is this. Propose a treaty by which the nations will agree to give up certain of the more sensationally destructive weapons, but allow them to have all the others; thus recognizing the inevitability of war and making no attempt to stop it. Or strike at war itself by giving to the UN the two attributes which would enable it not only to stop the use of those things which kill civilians wholesale, but to stop war itself. These two attributes are: (1) the elimination of the veto so that the Security Council, as the Executive of the UN, would have the political capacity to act, and (2) the disarmament of the nation-states and the possession of armaments by the UN to such an extent that no nation-state could resist the enforcement of the law by the UN. The UN, reconstituted in this way, could enforce the law in the only way in which law can be enforced—by direct action on the offending individual. No national army could interpose itself between the UN and the law-breaker. The law forbidding atomic weapons and all other weapons whose purpose was to make aggressive war would be enforced. But more important, it would thereby become impossible for any nation to engage in war.

By fair implication the Baruch proposals, now so widely misunderstood, call for these two fundamentals. May Mr. Baruch, his advisers and the President hold steadfastly to them, in the name of humanity.

Thomas K. Finletter, a New York attorney, was special assistant to the Secretary of State from 1941 to 1944 and consultant to the American delegation at the San Francisco Conference. His book, Can Representative Government Do the Job? *published last year by Reynal and Hitchcock, received wide attention.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But long before the Bikini experiment, the atomic scientists said the results would be meaningless as far as another war is concerned. Nobody would waste a bomb on a fleet; they would be used, if at all, against cities, where the diameter of utter destruction is three miles or more. But as a matter of fact, the bomb is probably obsolete anyhow. Germ warfare and radioactive poison gas are both far more effective; they kill everybody in a very large area and leave all physical installations intact for the conqueror. It seems pretty clear that war has gone into a new fourth dimension so unlike anything that has existed in the past that it has hopelessly outpaced the minds of the general staffs.

Trieste Time-Bomb

THE Italo-Yugoslav riots at Trieste and the reinforcement of Anglo-American naval detachments there underline the fact that time is running out for composition of differences and honest peace-making at the conference of the great powers at Paris.

During the first two weeks of the meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers, there has been no peace-making in an absolute sense. The progress achieved in the first fortnight may not be progress at all. In reaching agreement on granting Italy the South Tyrol up to the Brenner Pass and in assigning to France the Briga-Tenda area on the Franco-Italian border, the foreign ministers have gone far toward throwing overboard any workable rule of ethnic determination as a basis for European borders. Secretary Byrnes went to Paris prepared to settle the problems of Trieste and Venezia Giulia on an ethnic principle. With the dominantly Austrian South Tyrol now firmly assigned to Italy, Mr. Byrnes and his colleague Ernest Bevin may find it difficult indeed to revitalize the principle for their continued arguments with the Soviet's Mr. Molotov on Trieste.

Both the Western powers and Russia are playing a dangerous game while they work around the periphery of their basic differences at Paris. The prospects for world peace were not improved early last month when Marshal Tito, with obvious Moscow aquiescence, increased Yugoslav troops in the Trieste neighborhood to approximately six divisions.

And that raw threat of power politics was compounded when Secretary Byrnes and Mr. Bevin respectively ordered the U. S. cruiser *Fargo* and the British cruiser *Mauritius* into Trieste harbor to match demonstration with demonstration. With the great powers flexing their muscles in public, it was not surprising that the population of Trieste should erupt into violence.

The point of friction at Trieste, of course, is not now ethnic, geographic or economic. It is the suspicion and fundamental antagonism between the Western powers and the Soviet. After the failure of the first Paris conference and the dubious achievements during the first two weeks of the second, there seems little reason to hope that this suspicion can be immediately resolved. In such a situation, quick action is necessary to remove Trieste temporarily at least from the arena of great-power stress. The compromise proposal by Georges Bidault of France for internationalization under great-power supervision for a limited period offers such a temporary solution. Under this plan, both Great Britain and the United States on the one hand, and the Soviet on the other, could retreat from their explosively adamant positions and permit the impact of world opinion to help provide a permanent solution while armed forces are withdrawn and tempers cool.

Even M. Bidault's compromise, however, can be considered no more than a palliative. The sole substantial hope for honest accomplishment at Paris appears to lie in the apparent determination of Byrnes to compel an exhaustive review of the question of Germany during the next few days.

The roots of the suspicion which is poisoning the relations between the East and the West lie in the German problem. Byrnes, Bevin and Molotov must come to grips with this problem ultimately, and every day of delay contributes its quota of suspicion and alarm which make solution of the corollary problems of the peace almost insoluble.

Until Russia and the West have come to a common understanding on the future of Germany and the means by which that future is to be directed, there can be little hope for peace in Europe and in the world. The Byrnes-Bevin demand for a 21-nation peace conference is no panacea. There is no reason to believe that Russia, which is objecting to her position as a minority of one in the Council of Foreign Ministers, would find her position any more workable in a peace conference where she still would be confronted by an antagonistic and overwhelming majority bloc.

The dangerous weakness in the Byrnes-Bevin scheme for a 21-nation conference plan is that under the Moscow Agreement of last December its recommendations would not be final. They would still have to be ratified by the four great powers. If the peace treaties are to have meaning as instruments removing the threat of war from Europe and the world, they must be founded on principles acceptable to the Big Four. Any attempt to construct them otherwise is unrealistic and dangerous.

Little time remains for progress at Paris. The Foreign Ministers, being human, cannot meet indefinitely. They should and must abandon their haggling over the border issues, which are only the evidence of their difficulties, and strike at the suspicions which create these issues. They must somehow devise a method of living together in a single world.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Washington Wire

Truman Gets Tough

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S OPA veto message was the strongest state document he ever prepared. It was temperate, sincere and almost humble. He knew that wrath and confusion would follow. He knew that the easiest course was to sign the bill. Hadn't he precedents from the past? Hadn't that great and good man Herbert Hoover signed the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act over the protests of 1,028 economists, knowing full well in his heart how vicious it was? But the little ex-haberdasher from Kansas City just couldn't stomach it. And whatever else is written, history will have to put this down for Harry Truman. At a moment of great crisis, when the easiest thing to do was to do nothing, when a more glamorous figure might have yielded, when it was so easy to shift responsibility and say "Yes" and betray his country, he said "No." He said "No" resolutely. He said "No" with bells on it. And in so doing, it became clearer to some, perhaps, what President Roosevelt may have been thinking in Chicago, in 1944, when he accepted Truman as his running-mate.

The President directed his fire particularly at the disruptive cost-plus amendment of Senator Taft. Is this Truman-Taft duel a forerunner of 1948? It was Senator Taft who engineered the grand coup of presenting Truman with an unworkable bill that would preserve the OPA not as an effective agency but as a national scapegoat. It was Taft who forced Truman into the position of killing the OPA himself. Today it is Taft, shrewdest and ablest of the conservatives in Congress, who is in control of much of the GOP convention machinery, and who is talked of increasingly as the 1948 presidential candidate. We may have seen the opening round of the Truman-Taft presidential contest in this exchange.

A sad aspect of the crisis is the light it casts on the imperfections of our system of government. Executive and legislative are in air-tight compartments. Mr. Truman listed five separate times when he implored Congress to act on the OPA. Yet Congress waited until the deadline. It swapped and haggled and presented an impossible "compromise" at the last moment. Partisanship aside, this crisis is not a matter of personalities, but of our faulty institutions. Because of them, last Saturday, it was literally impossible to forecast what prices would be on the next Monday.

We listened to "Pappy" O'Daniel's filibuster the Thursday before. Under Senate rules it was possible for this one man to delay America's business for more than eight hours, while the clock ticked closer to the OPA deadline. It was after midnight of a sultry Washington evening when we emerged, thoughtful and depressed. Fireflies winked in the dark tree masses. Over the horizon lightning flashed and thunder muttered. Must some great calamity occur before we reform our ancient system of government, we wondered? The thunder had an ominous sound; we could hear it rumbling from behind the great domed Capitol, on our left.

The directors of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce are urging national advertisers to earmark a fixed part of their budgets for advertisements "to assist the American people to think straight about the American economic system." This is a splendid idea. We suggest they start by publicizing the discovery on the concentration of war savings in America just made by the Federal Reserve Board. This is one of the most startling and shocking revelations ever made, and was discussed briefly in this magazine last week in the article, "Facts About the National Economy." It boil downs to this: cross-section samplings taken of American families show the top 10 percent (those with $3,400 or more in savings) holds 60 percent of all the savings. The lower 50 percent holds only three percent of the total!

So-called "liquid assets" held by the public and representing currency, bank deposits and government bonds, are known to have increased by $90 billion since 1939, and now total about $130 billion. It has heretofore been assumed that this vast wartime bonanza was distributed fairly evenly over the families of the nation. The Federal Reserve Board, however, through the report made for it by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, announces that this simply isn't so. Besides justifying some of the Soviet Union's bitter gibes at the lack of economic equality in America, the report also reveals how small a backlog of buying power the average family has for bad times. We are launched in a new "boom-and-bust" cycle and the masses of the public, on whom big producers must depend as consumers, are still living in hand-to-mouth fashion out of current income, without a cushion of savings. The workers still don't have, and aren't getting, the wherewithal to buy the goods they produce. Savings are concentrated at the top, where the market for yachts is good but for shoes, butter and Fords is poor. This touches the interest of every Chamber of Commerce member, and it would be nice (and unlikely) if they discussed it in their advertising.

The House Rules Committee operates in a grubby little pigeonhole, off in one corner, beside an elevator, on the third floor of the Capitol building. Next to the Senate or the House itself, it is the most powerful agency of the legislature. Last week we watched it strangle the Truman 65-cent-an-hour minimum-wage bill. This measure has been repeatedly urged by the President, has been passed by the Senate and would aid millions of low-paid workers. But it is bottled up in the autocratic House Rules Committee, which is really a third chamber of Congress. In the Rules Committee everybody talks at once. Procedure is loose and disorderly. Here proud and puffy chairmen of other committees, autocrats of their own little satrapies, humbly plead for a "rule" (or legislative green light) to bring favorite measures to the floor. The Rules Committee is the traffic cop of House legislation. It is stuffed with conservatives. It quite frankly weighs bills in the balance of its own prejudices before letting the House debate them on their merits. Last week, the Southerners on the committee simply said they didn't think farm "help" should get 65 cents an hour. So that was that. Unless dislodged, minimum-wage legislation is dead for this Congress.

Washington T. R. B.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Monopoly Tightens Its Grip
—And Congress Helps

by Nathan Robertson

While most of the American people are completely unaware of what is going on, Congress is sabotaging the public's basic protection against monopoly—the anti-trust laws.

This sabotage is taking place in the open, but the newspapers, most of which seem to be more closely affiliated with monopoly interests than with the public welfare, are not telling the American people what is happening. There is danger that the ordinary citizen won't wake up until monopoly has not only taken over most of our industrial system, but is too powerful for even the government to control. That point has almost been reached.

As a result of the war, monopoly already has a tighter grip on the American economy than ever before. Congress has been warned repeatedly, but does not seem to care. The same congressmen who are so quick to get excited about strikes and to denounce the growing power of labor are blind to the threat of the concentrated power of big business.

Unblinkable evidence on the growth of monopoly shows clearly this is a time for strengthening the anti-monopoly laws and providing more money to save really free competitive enterprise. But Congress, looking the other way, is passing legislation to help, rather than curb, monopoly.

This unfriendly attitude toward the anti-trust laws is having a deteriorating influence on the executive agencies. The Justice Department, which until recently was the most aggressive agency in fighting monopoly, is now turning the other cheek. Recently Attorney General Tom Clark refused to exercise his power under the surplus-property law to keep the giant Geneva steel plant from falling into the hands of U. S. Steel. Thus, instead of facing new competition from the West, the highly concentrated Eastern steel industry has extended its monopoly control.

Today the public is sounder asleep than ever before, because the press, which is supposed to be on guard for the public, is not doing its job. The newspaper industry, like much of other business, has fallen into the hands of big business. By and large, the newspapers are not friendly to the anti-trust laws. Their growing antagonism was accentuated by the recent anti-trust action against the Associated Press, whose exclusive membership rules have been one of the weapons used by the press to ward off new competition.

Since the AP case, the press has almost ignored all major developments on the monopoly front. It has failed to keep the public informed of the growth of monopoly, or the attacks on the anti-monopoly laws. A striking example of this was the recent report by the Senate Small Business Committee, and the Smaller War Plants Corporation, on the postwar concentration of economic power in manufacturing. This was an alarming 350-page summary of the growth of big business during the war and the prospects for continued concentration in the future unless strong steps are taken to combat it. Yet except for Marshall Field's Chicago *Sun* and *PM*, most newspapers, including the comparatively reliable and complete New York *Times*, failed to carry the story. The Associated Press sent out a short, routine account, but even this was ignored by most papers.

This report, based upon official figures, showed that big business, particularly the corporations which hold a monopoly position in our economy, had grown sharply during the war, while the position of small business declined. The greatest gains were made by the "industrial giants," the companies with 10,000 or more employees. In manufacturing as a whole, the report said, "these few giants accounted for 13 percent of total employment in 1939, and for fully 31 percent of the total in 1944."

Increases in concentration during the war, said the report, were due primarily to the distribution of most war contracts to the big companies—particularly the prime contracts, which it termed "the instruments of economic power." Two-thirds of these vital war contracts, it said, were concentrated in 100 big corporations. Most of these big companies that grew bigger through war contracts were the giants that had dominated industry before the war, including some of the nation's most notorious monopolists, but they included a few newcomers, chiefly in the airplane industry.

From the standpoint of future monopoly position, the report pointed to an even more important factor than the concentration of war contracts. This was the

---

Nathan Robertson, for many years a leading Washington newspaperman, and winner of the Heywood Broun Memorial Award in 1944, recently resigned from the Washington staff of PM.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

distribution of new factories and machinery. The government financed a huge new industrial plant during the war, contributing most of the money for a $26-billion expansion which provides some of the newest and best equipment available today. The report estimated that about $20 billion of this new equipment is usable for the production of peacetime products, representing a 50-percent expansion of the prewar production machine.

Control of these war-built facilities will go far to determine the economic pattern of the future. But here again, it was the big companies that got most of the gravy. If these companies finally acquire the government-owned facilities on which they have options, the report said, the 250 biggest would have 66.5 percent of the nation's total industrial plant, worth "almost as much as the entire $39.6 billion held before the war by all of the more than 75,000 manufacturing corporations then in existence."

Some of these companies were not among the biggest before the war, but most of them were "the traditional giants of American industry." The report said 31 of them are controlled "by only five interest groups, namely, Morgan-First National, Mellon, Rockefeller, duPont and the Cleveland group." These 31 corporations control 30 percent of the nation's usable manufacturing facilities.

BECAUSE it was the big companies that got most of the war contracts and other wartime aids, it was they who came out of the war with most of the accumulated working capital. War profits broke all previous records, and the report says big business will have billions of dollars in cash, during the immediate postwar years, to use "in a variety of ways to improve its position." By the middle of 1945, the 63 biggest listed manufacturing companies, with assets of more than $100 million each, had increased their net working capital to $8.4 billion, or more than the total held by all manufacturing companies in 1939. The report estimated that by 1946 these 63 corporations had more than $10 billion of "highly liquid net working capital."

"That big business actually will use its war-increased strength, especially its liquid funds, to improve its position and power over prewar levels is strongly suggested by the sharp rise in mergers and acquisitions which has occurred since the end of World War II," the report added. It said the rate of mergers and acquisitions was higher in the last quarter of 1945 than at any time in the previous decade and a half, and warned that historically the rate of such mergers had measured the growth of economic concentration. "The fact that big business is now actively engaged in buying up small companies suggests that it will probably follow other courses of action designed to increase its economic power."

Despite these gloomy figures, the report ended on a more hopeful note. It said the concentration of economic power "not only can be held to its prewar position; it can be reduced substantially below that level." But the report warned this could only be accomplished by effective government action, including "an anti-trust program, a small-business program (including financial aid) and a surplus-disposal program directed, specifically, to assist small business on a scale never before contemplated."

THE PRESS has ignored this report, and also the way Congress has been going in the other direction. For months the powerful railroad lobby has been working in Congress to get legislation exempting its monopolistic rate-making machinery from the anti-trust laws. The press has hardly mentioned either the activities of the lobby or the progress of the legislation. Supporters of the anti-trust laws have warned that this legislation would open the door to similar exemptions for other major industries. Many of the newspapers already are seeking parallel special-interest legislation to nullify the government's recent victory against the AP by exempting it from the anti-trust laws.

Even more serious is the way Congress, in the face of the monopoly menace, has been squeezing appropriations for anti-trust enforcement. The anti-trust division has always been starved for funds, although it has the job of fighting some of the biggest aggregations of wealth in the country. Even before the war it never got more than $2,300,000, or a small fraction of the appropriations for other agencies, and during the war, when anti-trust prosecutions were suspended, its staff was cut to the bone.

Because of the temper of Congress, and the current economy wave, the Budget Bureau recommended a modest $1,900,000 for next year, which would only be enough to maintain the present meager staff that already is 25 percent below the prewar level. A really serious effort to maintain the anti-trust laws would require several times this much in view of the jam of war-postponed cases now awaiting trial. But the House, instead of increasing the fund, cut it to $1,700,000, which would mean reducing the staff and dropping many investigations now under way.

Attorney General Clark went before the Senate Appropriations Committee to appeal for restoration of the money, and hinted strongly at the need for more than the Budget had recommended. He estimated that in two recent cases alone, monopolies had spent more to defend themselves than the anti-trust division's entire annual appropriation, but the committee paid no attention and recommended the House figure of $1,700,000. On the Senate floor, Senators Robert M. La Follette (Prog., Wis.) and Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D, Wyo.) got the appropriation restored to $1,900,000. Even with this, the anti-trust division would lose, rather than gain, ground in its fight on monopoly.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How We Won in Massachusetts

by Henry R. Silberman

"THIS BILL has been lobbied as no other bill has ever been lobbied in the Commonwealth before!" That was the indignant refrain of the members of the General Court of Massachusetts who were opposed to fair-employment-practice legislation. People were lobbying without being paid for it, sending their own telegrams, making real sacrifices.

Who were these people? Everyone expected Negroes, Jews and "foreigners" to support the FEPC, but they had not expected help from the Catholic Church. You could see that in their pained surprise when Father John S. Sexton appeared at every hearing and delivered blows that would have been effective even if they had not come from Archbishop Cushing's representative, the editor of the Diocesan paper. Yet the anti-Catholics among the opposition could not grind the Archbishop's endorsement in their mills, for the head of every important Protestant denomination supported the bill.

Veterans, including the American Legion, were in there, too. So was labor, the CIO officially. Progressive sections of business and industry, the League of Women Voters, the YWCA and literally hundreds of other organizations, endorsed and worked for the bill. And by no means least, the Democratic Party.

On the other side were the Associated Industries (the Massachusetts branch of the NAM), several real-estate boards, the Boston Chamber of Commerce and the Christian Front.

Last year the opposition had been powerful enough to defeat the FEPC by a narrow margin. In the fall, probably goaded by Republican Lieutenant Governor Bradford's public comments on the delay, Democratic Governor Tobin carried out his plan to appoint a Committee to Study and Recommend Fair Employment Practice Legislation. This committee unanimously recommended a bill, which Governor Tobin introduced into the legislature and which was identical with New York's Ives-Quinn Act save for the following suggested improvements:

The Commonwealth and its subdivisions are specifically included. The Commission has the power to file a complaint if it believes discrimination exists. It is permitted to publish the terms of conciliation or the facts in any case that has been dismissed. The section on employment agencies is strengthened and notices containing the provisions of the Act must be posted by employers, agencies and trade unions. A penalty is added for willfully filing a false complaint. The bill as passed provided for three commissioners.

It was an excellent bill, and an overwhelming majority of the people wanted it. The Massachusetts FEPC Committee decided on its strategy: to place its main emphasis on building a people's lobby. Heads of organizations were most coöperative, but they were busy with their own organizational problems, so contacts were made with members of organizations all over the state. Last year, the strength of the committee lay almost entirely in Boston, most of whose representatives responded by voting for the FEPC. This year 30 local committees were formed in important districts outside of Boston. Their procedure was simple. They invited their legislators to attend a meeting and asked them to give their views. Some legislators committed themselves immediately, others hedged or refused. These received pressure.

As one legislator after another tumbled, with due publicity, the opposition shifted its tactics. Its line became, "Let's send it to the Supreme Court and see if it's constitutional," or "I'm in favor of an FEPC but I don't like *this* bill."

Stalling presented the first danger. The Massachusetts House Ways and Means Committee was sitting on the bill, hatching amendments and delays. When wires, letters and postcards had no effect, the FEPC Committee requested an audience for a large delegation with the speaker of the House, the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee and the president of the Senate, all Republican opponents of the FEPC.

The last thing these gentlemen wanted was to face a large delegation. They countered by offering to speak to a few of the leaders: let the others wait around, get discouraged and go home. That tactic was met by explaining that official representatives of some 160 organizations from all over the state were waiting. The legislators came.

They tried everything, from pitiful descriptions of how busy they were and how early they got up in the morning, to protestations of their hatred of discrimination, including even "Some of my best friends are Negroes and Jews," which brought down the house. They finally wilted and the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee agreed to report out the bill immediately. The report was favorable.

That marked the turning point, although the opposition continued to fight, using every trick and technicality. Defeated on one roll-call after another, the

---

Henry R. Silberman, executive director of the New England division of the American Jewish Congress, was chairman of the steering committee of the Committee for a Massachusetts FEPC.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

opposition in the House caved in. The final vote stood 164 to 59 for the FEPC.

What would the Senate do? People flocked to the State House, determined not to be tricked out of victory. They started a vigil in the Senate galleries when it was discovered that plans had been made to railroad the bill to the Supreme Court. Plainly visible from those galleries were piles of telegrams, heaped high on senatorial desks.

When the Supreme Court question was forced into the open, old Senator Haley, Republican, asked his colleagues, "Why don't you vote fur it or agin it? What are you afraid of? This sneaking around by the back door—'tain't fair, 'tain't square, 'tain't right, and I'm agin it. Mr. President, I pity you."

The motion to send the bill to the Supreme Court was defeated; and reconsideration failed. That left the bill in the Senate Ways and Means Committee. "Why doesn't your committee report it out right away?" Chairman Richardson was asked. The Senator didn't believe that his committee could act right away, and he grew rather indignant at being informed that there were people in the gallery who wanted to come down and find out why not.

The opposition couldn't face another delegation. Within an hour, the bill had not only been reported out of committee, but had passed the Senate for a second and a third reading; the rules had been suspended and the fight was won.

Yes, the people thought they had something to say, and they had discovered they could say it effectively when they said it together, firmly, without being divided or distracted from their goal. The people of Massachusetts have an Act which is a model of fair-employment-practice legislation, and they have, as well, an understanding of political action and of the power that lies, as it ought to lie, within their hands. Since most state legislatures meet next year, the people of other Northern states have an opportunity to adopt the pattern for victory that has enacted effective FEPC laws in Massachusetts, New York and New Jersey.

China Moves a River

by Lawrence K. Rosinger

Shanghai (by airmail)

EVERYTHING occurring in China in recent months has taken place in the shadow of actual or threatened civil war. The implications of this for activities that would seem non-political in the United States have been brought out sharply for me by a trip to the northern provinces of Honan, Hopei and Shantung, where a tremendous project to shift the course of the Yellow River is now being carried out. For many years prior to 1938, this erratic river had flowed in a northeasterly direction into the Pohai Gulf. In that year, fighting the Japanese invaders, the heroic Chinese deliberately broke the dikes and flooded a huge rich area in the enemy's path. Thereafter, the river flowed southeasterly into the Yellow Sea. Now the Chinese are building dikes to restore the river to its old course. This will reclaim 1.5 million acres of rich land, badly needed to counteract the famine.

When the Central Government proposed to UNRRA that the breach in the dikes west of Kaifeng be closed and the river restored to its old course by June or July, the plan caused grave concern among the Chinese Communists, since the old bed of the Yellow River is largely in Communist territory. The project seemed likely to enable the Central Government to reclaim an important crop area, while flooding a section of the Communists' Hopei-Shantung-Honan Border Region and presenting the Eighth Route Army with a serious flood-control and communications problem. Since many Communist villages had sprung up in and near the old bed of the river since 1938, the people of these new villages would have to move.

The Communists did not oppose the plan to return the river to its old course, but asked that the program to close the breach west of Kaifeng be synchronized with the necessary dike-repair work in their areas. They did not want the river to reënter its pre-1938 bed until they had had time to erect the best possible defenses against future floods. They also asked that their dike-repair workers receive pay and repair materials from UNRRA and CNRRA (the Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration) on the same basis as the workers in Central Government territory and that the displaced villagers receive assistance.

After much discussion, an oral agreement was reached at Nanking on May 18, which provided that the Communists would repair their dikes as quickly as possible, the main breach would not be closed until this work had been completed, flour and repair materials would be sent into the Eighth Route Army area for the dike workers, CNRRA would assist the displaced villagers and the Central Government would be requested to give these people—numbering more than 160,000 in some 550 villages—individual cash payments for new housing. The effect of the May 18 agreement was to

---

Lawrence K. Rosinger is on the staff of the Foreign Policy Association, for which he is visiting China.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

divide the Yellow River project into two parts: toward the end of July the main breach will be closed, but the dam will not be waterproofed until late in the year, giving the Communist areas a period for readjustment.

In Tsaochow, capital of the Border Region, the officials told us quite frankly that their first reaction to the Yellow River project had been to regard it as an act of civil war. They still felt that the Central Government's main objective was to create problems for the Communists by cutting their region in two, rather than to relieve the suffering people in the areas flooded after 1938. But, having reached the best agreement they could get through discussions which General Marshall and other Americans witnessed or participated in, they said they would carry out their end of the accord.

WE HAD a chance to test their word on this point when we set out for the old dry bed of the Yellow River and found three hundred peasants, near the village of Yang Lou, already gathered for dike-repair work with shovels, wheelbarrows, mats for shelters, black cauldrons and kaoliang stalks and willow branches as repair materials. When we returned the same evening, more than a thousand men were at work. The remarkable fact was that this activity occurred barely a week after the Nanking agreement had given the Border Region authorities the go-ahead signal on dike work, and that the local orders for repair operations had been issued before the return of the regional representatives who participated in the Nanking discussions. This efficiency was especially striking under the backward conditions of communication and transportation found in the Chinese countryside.

The bearing and behavior of the Border Region officials were quite impressive. Their attitude was one of complete informality among themselves, and I could observe no sign of distance or reserve between the leaders and the mass of the peasants in the villages we stopped in. The confidence of the leaders in their people was indicated clearly at once point when we threw out at the crowd surrounding our jeep the question, "What do you think of the Yellow River agreement?" A man from the crowd began to answer, but as soon as he identified himself as having been a Communist irregular fighter, the official from Tsaochow who was with us cut him short, saying: "They don't want to hear from you!" Without our having raised the point, this official knew that we wanted the reactions of ordinary peasants, not of villagers with special political training.

After leaving Eighth Route Army territory I visited the Central Government area west of Kaifeng, where the breach in the dikes is being dammed. There, O. J. Todd, the American advising engineer who is actually in charge of the project, showed special concern about the political aspects of the Yellow River scheme. Todd's experience in China dates back to 1919, and he knows well the ways of the Yellow River and of Chinese politicians. He said he would not allow himself to be associated with the plan if the authorities attempted to use it for political purposes.

I had an opportunity here to observe the innumerable techniques of hand labor that go into any Chinese project of this sort. Particularly striking were the methods employed by the boatmen in getting our jeep and ourselves across the treacherous Yellow River on a hand-powered craft. With some twenty crewmen, including an oarsman at one end, who also handled the rudder, we started out about eight o'clock one evening, taking an hour to cover no more than a mile of water. At first two men on shore untied the rope by which the boat had been held and ran along the bluff holding the rope's end. At the same time a number of men on board pushed the boat out into the stream by using long wooden poles with metal points —first against the river bed, then against the bluff as we passed it, and then against the river bed once more. Meanwhile the men on the bluff had thrown the rope on the boat and come aboard themselves. Soon two men took the anchor and threw it overboard, after which it was immediately hauled back by a rope running through a kind of wooden pulley attached to the sail-less mast. By pulling the anchor rapidly through the stream the men were able to push and turn the boat. While this was going on, others in the crew continued to work with the poles, and when we were about three hundred yards out, some of the crew stripped, went overboard into the shallow water and ran out a distance with a rope to pull the boat. This exhibition of great skill in using primitive techniques suddenly pointed up the whole situation: the Yellow River was being shifted by hand, plus a few machines. It also became clear how vast a task the mechanization of China really is.

AT PRESENT, work on the Yellow River project is progressing rapidly and every effort is being made by Todd and his co-workers to meet their schedule. However, the political aspects of the scheme are quite unpredictable. In the midst of these uncertainties it was good to observe, in passing from Kuomintang into Communist territory and back again, the essential unity and vigor of the Chinese peasantry. It was also encouraging to see how the government-appointed engineers of the Yellow River Commission and the Communist representatives with whom they dealt were able to maintain smooth working relations. These facts highlight what appears to be China's outstanding political need today: the need to retire a small group of high-placed reactionaries who fear that if the national desire for peace and reconstruction is allowed to express itself in a genuine coalition government, they will be swept aside by a united people.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

UN Observer

The Dilemma of the Veto

IT IS SAD to have to record that on Wednesday, June 26, the first anniversary of the signing of the Charter that brought the United Nations into being, the United Nations Security Council celebrated by giving its worst exhibition of futility and ineptitude. It is very hard to see how, after its performance over the Spanish question, any nation, great or small, can have any inclination whatever to trust its problems, fears or grievances to the Security Council for redress, or any faith in the Security Council's ability to hand down a just and equitable judgment.

It is too easy to put the finger of blame on Russia and Mr. Gromyko for this unhappy state of affairs: to say that if the Soviet delegates had not been so reckless in their use of the veto in the Council, if they had only been sufficiently democratic to accept the majority verdict, none of this would have happened. Would the United States, or Great Britain, or France, or China be prepared to give up that right, if it really came to a showdown? During the six months the Security Council has been in existence none of them has ever needed to use the veto. Whereas time after time the Russians, in their own view at least, have been put—forced, they might say—into that position.

By using their veto power, the Russians have been cutting off their noses to spite their faces, and have achieved precisely the opposite result from the one they desired. By demonstrating the complete incapability of the Security Council to reach any positive and practical decisions, they have reduced its authority and prestige to zero in the eyes of the world and its governments. If the Security Council is patently incapable of doing anything about anything, is anybody likely to give it anything to do?

And if nobody gives the Council anything to do, what happens? Does it meet once every fourteen days, as required by its rules, just to sit and twiddle its twenty-two thumbs? Without work to do, the Council will inevitably atrophy from inanition and—here is the joker as far as the Russians are concerned—power, authority and prestige within the United Nations will pass from the Council to the General Assembly. Which is just what the Russians fear and dislike most, and have been doing their best to avoid.

The worst of it is that this problem of the veto now has become inextricably tangled with the problem of the atom. In its political aspects the American plan for the control of atomic-energy development as outlined by Mr. Baruch at the Atomic Commission's first meeting must have looked to the Russians like a pretty bare-faced horse trade. We'll promise you security from atomic bombs (on our own terms and when we feel like it), we say to them, if you'll give up your right of veto. Only, of course, Mr. Baruch adds hastily, in the projected international Atomic Development Authority itself. Not in the Security Council. We'll all keep our right of veto in the Security Council. But that means the Atomic Development Authority must be independent of the Security Council. But how can the ADA be independent of the Council, which under the Charter is charged with the "primary responsibility" for keeping the peace, punishing aggressors and regulating armaments? There can't be two bosses on the same job.

A fascinating chart, prepared by Mr. Baruch's back-room boys, concerns twenty major points of the American plan as debated by the other eleven members of the Atomic Commission and shows only one outright point of disagreement between the Soviet and the American views. That is upon the "abolition of veto in this field," *i.e.*, atomic energy. Now as a matter of practical politics, Soviet Russia is no more likely to give up the right of veto, or her insistence that any international body for the control of atomic energy shall come under the Security Council where the veto is operative, than the United States is likely to give up its possession of atomic secrets or destroy its stockpile of bombs until what it considers "adequate safeguards" have been established. Without the veto, the Russians will not accept any plan. With it, any plan may prove to be unworkable. That is the real dilemma which confronts the Atomic Commission.

In hopeful contrast, the Economic and Social Council accomplished a good deal of very useful work during its second session which ended ten days ago. This work was mainly organizational and therefore made dull reading in the newspapers. The Council completed plans for the setting up of six major permanent commissions—on human rights, the status of women, transport and communications, statistics, economic problems and social problems—together with various subcommissions. One of the most important of these lesser bodies is the temporary subcommission on the war-devastated areas. It is to make a preliminary report to the Council by the time of its next meeting late in August on what needs to be done to help the devastated countries in Europe and Asia reconstruct and restore their economies. Agreements were concluded with three of the major "specialized agencies," the ILO, the FAO and UNESCO, bringing them into liaison with the Council and the United Nations. Plans for an International Refugee Organization were adopted for final approval by the Assembly. A world conference to set up an international health organization as another specialized agency was called, and has been meeting in New York since June 19. Under the brilliant and energetic chairmanship of Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, the Economic and Social Council is doing the best work in the new world organization.

The contribution of the United States to the top-ranking leadership in the United Nations Secretariat, in the shape of Mr. John B. Hutson, was not a very generous one. It is now suggested that Mr. David Owen, who has been Assistant Secretary General for economic affairs, will take over Mr. Hutson's important job as head of the administrative and finance department of the Secretariat, and that Mr. John G. Winant will be asked to become head of the economic-affairs department vacated by Mr. Owen. The United Nations needs more Americans like Mr. Winant—and fewer like Mr. Hutson.

EDWARD MONTGOMERY

Edward Montgomery is United Nations correspondent for the London News-Chronicle.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Olivier's "Henry V"

LAURENCE OLIVIER's spectacle-film, "Henry V," is a sparkling armor-and-woolen-goods movie about a glorious English leader (Olivier), his smashing, upset victory over the French (who had too much armor, too few archers) in 1415, and his lightning courtship—made up of tricky, beautiful talk and vaudeville—of the French princess Katherine (Renée Asherson). "Henry V" is a great deal more than almost any other hell-bent-for-armor movie that you've seen. While definitely athletic, pageant-minded and somewhat recognizable after all of the war dramas that have come out since Elizabethan times, no movie has given a more poignant impression of men in battle or been so cutting about the waste and folly of war.

Its most artistic value rests in the perfection of the portrait of a great medieval leader-type, the kind of power-happy, wily statesman who terrifies people today more than the thought of a subway ride on a hot day. Olivier does an elaborate, wonderful job on Henry. He sends chills down your back as he smiles at an insult; he makes you uneasy, talking in a charming, bland way of how necessary it is that there be just reason for conquering France. When he turns up here and there in battle to pep up his soldiers, you feel that even Joan of Arc couldn't have been so noble and inspiring, but that he is something of a busybody. His transformation during the war into a deeper, greater person is made intensely evident in an almost magical way. Olivier's real feat, though, is in having directed a film that is always as exciting, sometimes more so, than the Shakespeare play. It is basically a word film—every move of the direction is governed by the desire to do the best job possible by Shakespeare's lines. I am sure no one is going to do a better Shakespeare movie of this kind.

The schoolroomish opening (a pokey bird's-eye view of seventeenth-century London and a busy trafficking through a first-act performance of "Henry V" at Shakespeare's Globe Theatre) gives immediate indication of what a knockout this movie will be—poetic, stunning, exquisitely synchronized, fanciful, light and airy in the best Disney manner, bubbling with good spirits and good actors, eloquent but gentle, unpretentious, down to your level. The opening shot of a program swirling airily up to the screen is the tip-off that this is going to be different from all the other Shakespeare films you've seen—breezier and with better scenic effects. The technicolor goes down easily, for once, because the backgrounds are colored in a low, almost natural key and only central figures are occasionally larded with the heavy splashes that you're used to. The irrepressible wit of Olivier's directing shows up in a first wonderful close-up as he is about to walk on the Globe's stage as Henry—it catches him in a look that is a mixture of fear and respect for the audience, the overworked, bored professional: all in all a very unkingly sight. The costuming of the Chorus (floridly and charmingly played by Leslie Banks) is of a sensible kind that accents rather than hides his skinniness, by sack pants and gigantic white garters.

Olivier's production, though, was aimed to entertain if it had to kill you with charm, to make you understand Shakespeare's thought if it meant interpreting characters and ideas so well that you get them without half trying, reading the best lines with such care that you feel they're being slyly pressed into your brain to take home with you and chew on till the end of time. But the greatest letdown comes from the realization that so much of it is like what you find in boys' books, the *American Boy*, Disney movies, the action stories on boxes of Wheaties, the paintings of Rockwell Kent or Grant Wood. The puppetlike Dresden-doll princess would turn up in boys' magazines; so would the quaint comedy and the embarrassing people involved in it, the youthful action backstage and in the galleries at the Globe, and so many of the saccharine landscapes. You get a big dose of the boys'-magazine spirit when the Globe audience is heard derisively responding to one of the speeches about Falstaff. They are being considered quaint, made to sound youthful, and you feel you're being too carefully instructed about the likes and dislikes of an Elizabethan audience. "Henry V"—because Olivier was so concerned with entertaining on a light plane (a good part of every scene is woven into expert vaudeville), and especially with pleasing middle-brow taste—always looks a bit contrived (stagy and toylike), boyish, and heavy with décor and costuming the way a grade-school operetta is.

MANNY FARBER

The Bandwagon

BYRNES OPTIMISTIC OF BIG 4 ACCORD
U. S. ORDERS CRUISER FARGO TO
TRIESTE, DISPUTED PORT
—*Head and subhead in* PM.

"Mississippi's good white people should go to any means justifiable to maintain white supremacy at the polls," Bilbo shouted in a stump talk at Stuart. "And if you don't know what I mean, you're just plain dumb. The time to see the nigger is the night before election."—*UP dispatch from Jackson, Miss.*

On the Home Front

The meeting on the 28th of June will be one of the most sensational meetings ever held in St. Louis. Mr. Don Lohbeck will preside, and we are bringing to the city the Honorable Norman Jaques, Member of the Canadian Parliament. Mr. Jaques is a Christian Nationalist, an enemy of Communism. He has fought the Bretton Woods Plan and the World Government Plan on the floor of the Canadian House of Commons. On the night of the 28th, Mr. Jaques will discuss the relationship of the Communist Party to the spy plot recently uncovered in Canada. He knows this whole story. He will discuss the attempt on the part of Stalin's forces to seize control of the Western Hemisphere.—*From a letter sent out by Gerald L. K. Smith.*

Let's Go!

Here is what you have always wanted. Burial in a CRYPT at the cost of a complete earth burial.—*From an advertisement of the Fort Lincoln Cemetery in the Washington* Star.

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.*—THE EDITORS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Correspondence

Education for an Adult World

SIR: The general glaring neglect of adult education in America may well prove suicidal. It still remains the Cinderella among all forms of education. Much of our kept radio is Operation Innocuity, and Hollywood contents itself with distraction and escape. Meanwhile, it is literally education or extinction. Nero was a piddling pyromaniac compared to us and our leaders.

Our fashion institutes may combine with the ads to turn out slick chicks whose heads are empty—easy on the eye, hard on the brain. What could we do for civilization with the energy and skill and the hundreds of millions of dollars we use for advertising cosmetics and alcohol? What could we do with the radio in popular adult education if we really cared? The legs of American women may glisten with nylon while their souls shrivel with neglect. Man faces more deadly perils than dandruff—what's *inside* his head is also important. He will survive even if his collar wilts. Men of real distinction should be able to judge something more than whiskey. Good grooming and manners are no substitute for vivid social imagination reinforced by well informed intelligence.

Minds encrusted with fossil ideas are more injurious to human happiness than dishpan hands. There is more sinister darkness upon the face of humanity than five o'clock shadow. The American home with its lush furniture and its wonderful gadgets, inhabited by all the youthful fashion models who have used all the cosmetics and all the laxatives which the ads have suggested to keep themselves from malodors, from halitosis, from spinsterhood, from unpopularity and so forth—this home is no proof against the atomic bomb in a possible World War III. Soap operas, while aiding cleanliness, give no clue to saving the sons and daughters of their hearers from destruction.

Charm, chatter and national patriotism are not enough! We need an antidote to the stink of national self-righteousness. Adult education, then, must be given its proper place. We must do all we can to help bring the United States into active membership of UNESCO and use the mass media of radio, movies, pamphlets and leaflets to create coöperation among the two billion people of this planet.

New York City MARK STARR

How Much Free Speech for Whom

SIR: We are told[1] that United Nations experts who are drafting an International Bill of Rights are divided on a fundamental free-speech issue. One group would permit "all kinds of information" to be disseminated, relying on the good sense of the people to guide them in making their decisions. The other would exercise some control over "deliberately falsified or slanted" information (propaganda) which it is difficult for the average person to detect. This debate is not new nor is it confined to the UN experts. Heightened by the perils of the struggle between democracy and fascism, the schism has widened between those who believe that our democratic institutions are threatened by any restraint on free speech and those who believe that our democracy will perish if the anti-democratic forces are not restrained.

To the traditional civil libertarian, the "purist," this question presents no problem. He takes his stand on the statement (falsely) attributed to Voltaire: "I detest what you say but I will defend with my life your right to say it." On the other hand, this is a perplexing question to those of us who have grown up with an uncritical acceptance of our heritage of civil-liberty theories but who believe it is our responsibility *now* to make those principles conform to the new social and political conditions of the transformed world. Fortunately, a number of our intellectual leaders, staunch believers in democracy, are exploring present-day currents in American life and their effect upon the cherished traditions in our Constitution. Carl Becker, great American historian, before his death a year ago, warned that 160 years had made vast economic, social and political changes which have had their influence on our ideas of freedom and that our provisions for dealing with these concepts must be changed to meet the needs of the modern world.

The task is difficult and complex but it should not confound us. I believe the principle formulated by John Stuart Mill in his essay "On Liberty" might serve as a guide. Governmental interference with the rights of an individual, Mill maintained, is never justified except when manifestly necessary to prevent some individuals from injuring others. The French Declaration of the Rights of Man put it more concisely: Liberty is the right of everyone to do whatever does not injure others.

Now is the time, it seems to me, for all liberals to answer the question pointed up by the division among UN experts. I would like to see the *New Republic* provide the forum for its readers to determine: Just what do we mean by free speech? Shall we permit the enemies of the democratic way of life to use the Bill of Rights to destroy it? Shall we allow fascists to conduct unrestrained a systematic campaign of defamation against our racial and religious minorities, admittedly a powerful weapon in the struggle between democracy and fascism? Just where shall we draw the line for interference in setting up a model for the 51 states in the United Nations to follow?

New York City LUCILLE B. MILNER

[1] The New York *Times*, May 21, 1946.

Commendation

SIR: "We Take You Now to Bikini" (the *New Republic*, June 24), is so fine it spoiled my lunch. I think Harrington and Eliot did a fine, powerful job.

Brooklyn, N. Y. R. BIEMILLER

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Oswald Garrison Villard corrects our statement ("Truman's Blunder," the *New Republic*, June 3) that no other democratic country had drafted strikers in peacetime, by pointing out that Briand, in 1910, broke a railway strike by calling up all reservists who were striking. Under the French system of conscription, that included most of the workers.

Clara Sturges Johnson of Ridgefield, Connecticut, sends us a pamphlet from the American Friends of Austrian Labor, 150 West 104 Street, Room 405, describing conditions in Austria today, and soliciting our readers' help. The daily calory ration has recently been 908 in Vienna, or only about 100 more than the Belsen diet afforded. Infant mortality is now 140 per thousand, as compared with 67 before the war. Our readers are requested to send more food shipments to Austria, to ask UNRRA for a top priority on such shipments, to urge that the Allies abolish the partition of the country and reduce the occupation forces "who partly live on the country."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books in Review

American Books Overseas

In Russia ten years after the revolution, Upton Sinclair was the only foreign author, and the only living author, to be officially named by the Commissariat of Education as a Soviet classic, thus being placed on the same pinnacle as Tolstoy and Dostoevsky. In Latin America, Waldo Frank had achieved the same sort of standing unofficially, at about the same time. "Tell me," said a Mexican literary journalist interviewing an editor from New York, "are there any other great writers in America del Norte besides Waldo Frank?" In Japan during the brief liberal period before the militarists took over the government in 1934, there was a Society of the Leaves of Grass dedicated to the social principles of Walt Whitman, whose poetic works were published in three separate Japanese translations.

Seen from the other side of the oceans, American literature has a topsy-turvy look, with many of the values strikingly different from those accepted at home. In Germany before the First World War, Anna Katherine Green, who wrote *The Leavenworth Case*, was the second most widely published American author. There were 81 German translations of her various detective stories from 1890 to 1913, as against 100 translations of Mark Twain, the most popular of all our authors in the Kaiser's Germany, and, for comparison, seven translations each of William Dean Howells and Henry James. In France about 1920, *The Adventures of Nicholas Carter*, the five-cent weekly that American boys used to hide in the cellar and read behind the barn, was the subject of literate discussions; it was among the early influences that contributed to Dadaism and Surrealism. Almost everywhere in the civilized world except in Soviet Russia, *Gone with the Wind* was read and praised more widely during the 1940's than any other foreign book had been since *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. It had another sort of audience than in America: the intellectuals admired it hardly less than did the public at large; and not merely as a story, but also as an expression of national resistance and survival. During the German occupation of Poland and Western Europe, it served as a holy legend or *Eikon Basilike* of the underground.

Readers on the other five continents have to make their judgments of American books without the help of advance publicity from the book clubs or gossip heard at publishers' cocktail parties and booksellers' conventions. They choose what answers to their emotional needs; and their impressions are not so likely as ours to be blunted by previous acquaintance with the author's work or with the school to which he is said to belong. "Oh, that's just another of the hard-boiled Hollywood novels," we sometimes say of a new book; whereas foreign readers may be overwhelmed by what to them is its strangeness and utter brutality. Lacking information about the background, they often go wrong in their judgments; but they are also spared a quantity of misinformation, so that they are capable of going right where the American reviewers, one following another, get lost in the same blind alley. And their impressions, whether right or wrong, cast a new light on the history of American writing in the last half-century.

It was a period during which the international position of our literature was completely transformed. Before 1900, American books were read in Europe chiefly for their factual content—not for their ideas, except in the case of Emerson and William James; not for their literary form, except in the case of Poe; but rather for the information they contained about a new country that was making a curious social experiment, and for the sense of release that came from reading about the solitary courage of the pioneers, the sweep of the prairies, the fantastic humor of the miners and river pilots. After 1930 our books were read much more widely, not only for their content but also for their technique, which European readers and writers felt was something to be admired, something that might and did affect their own manner of writing. Before 1900 American literature was regarded in Europe as a branch warehouse or colonial trading post of English literature. American books reached the Continent, with a few exceptions, only if and after the British public had approved them; and they were seldom distinguished in the popular mind from English books. After 1930, American literature began to be regarded as one of the world literatures in its own right; and many Europeans said that, in point of contemporary productions, it was the greatest of them all.

One cause of this transformed literary position was of course the transformation of the country itself, from a group of colonies that had won their independence, to the richest of all the nations. The historians of a distant future will perhaps say that just as American automobiles, motion pictures, magazines, machine tools, sports fashions, jazz music and concealed plumbing spread over the world by a process of cultural diffusion, so too American books followed business and the flag. By drawing parallel lines—here the sales graph of Remington typewriters, here the export of Hollywood films and there the translations year by year of American authors—they will explain the whole phenomenon. There will be truth in the explanation too; but it will probably fail to include the secondary forces, operating within the field of literature, that tended toward the same result. It may even fail to mention what is perhaps the chief factor of all: that during the half-century after 1890 Americans were writing books capable of attracting foreign readers.

Not many such books had been published here during the thirty years that followed the outbreak of the Civil War. By 1890 American authors were falling out of favor in foreign countries, even though they could still be published there without the payment of royalties to their authors. The American classics continued to be read more widely than is generally realized; but except for the works of Poe and Whitman, they were receiving less attention

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from the new generation, already in revolt against Victorian optimism. Among the American writers who appeared after the Civil War, Bret Harte and Mark Twain were already known to a wide European public, but generally speaking they had no close American rivals. They were enjoyed and praised, moreover, with a hint of condescension, like bright children or the amazingly educated members of a savage tribe. A few years later Bernard Shaw read the report from New York of some outrageous attack on literature by the Society for the Suppression of Vice. His comment was that Europe liked to hear of such things; they confirmed, he said, "a deep-seated conviction of the old world that America is a provincial place, a second-rate country-town civilization after all."

THE FIRST CHANGE in the international position of American literature resulted from the passage by Congress of the International Copyright Bill, in March, 1891. The new law helped American writers in two ways; they now received royalties as a matter of course from any of their books that were published abroad (before this time, such royalties had been exceptional); and at home they were freed from the unfair competition that existed when European books and magazine articles could be republished here without the consent of their authors. The literary profession in this country gained a sound economic foundation; young men could enter it with the hope of making their fortunes. Now, with the encouragement of the new, cheap magazines, a whole group of younger writers set to work creating a commodity literature for mass entertainment, a literature of stock models and interchangeable parts: Westerns, detective stories, Alaskan and South Sea adventures, pseudo-scientific tales, historical romances.

It was these commodities that formed the bulk of our literary exports from 1895 to 1918. The best of them went to England, in the shape of historical romances by Ellen Glasgow and Booth Tarkington (in their earlier manners), Winston Churchill, Mary Johnston and others. Some of the cheapest went on to the Continent, eventually reaching the Orient and South America. In those days the weekly adventures of Nicholas Carter were being published in seventeen countries, including France, Italy, Sweden, Russia and Japan. American detective novels with a little more polish (and less imaginative power) were immensely popular in Germany. Western stories of the utility or canners' grade weren't published there until after the First World War, but, on a somewhat higher level, there was Jack London, nine of whose books appeared in German translations between 1910 and 1913. London had a double claim on the European public: not only did he write about supermen in the Alaskan wilderness, but he was also part of the international socialist movement, which recommended his books to its members. In 1910 a Russian critic said, "Nowadays all the adult population of Russia is reading Jack London." A French publisher, when asked in 1917 for his impressions of American literature, began talking about London, Zane Grey and James Oliver Curwood. It turned out that he was familiar with some of our weightier authors too; he simply hadn't thought of them as being American.

But Europeans thought and talked a great deal about all things American during the years that immediately fol-

"I am a Negro American. All my life I have wanted to be an

AMERICAN"

Thus Spencer Logan begins his book, which tells frankly what one Negro thinks about America. With the perspective that comes from his experiences as a civilian and a soldier, he analyzes the handicaps and advantages with which he and other members of his race face life in America today. He makes some penetrating observations on the type of leadership which the Negro in this country has had, on the Negro's attitude toward miscegenation, on the Harlems of America, on the Negro soldier. He ardently champions a more democratic way of life for both whites and Negroes.

Mr. Logan is a veteran who served in France, Luxemburg, Germany, and the Pacific, and rose to the rank of Staff Sergeant in the Army. His manuscript was selected, from hundreds submitted by members of the armed forces all over the world, as first prize winner in non-fiction of the Macmillan Centenary Award.

"I have seldom read a more concise and reasonable statement of the principles of democracy than the one set forth in this book."—Edwin A. Peeples, *Atlanta Journal.*

Spencer Logan's

A NEGRO'S FAITH IN AMERICA

$1.75 at your bookstore MACMILLAN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lowed. Learning that two million of our soldiers had been transported to France during a period of fifteen or sixteen months, they were amazed by this display of military and economic power. Encountering some of the soldiers, they were impressed by their youth, their height, their equipment, their motor cars, their waste of food and the air they had of owning the world; also, if they could talk with them, Europeans were impressed by the difference between American as a spoken idiom and the language of the British troops. As soon as books could be imported from America, the Germans began reading about Henry Ford and Fordism. French scholars reasoned that America must have her own civilization and literature as well as her language; they set out to study all three. The first chairs of American civilization and literature were founded in French universities and a few years later in German universities; the most notable of these were at Paris (with Charles Cestre as professor) and at Berlin (with Friedrich Schonemann).

After the war, Europe began to read the serious American writers who had appeared since 1910. First to be discovered, in England and France, were the new poets, chiefly Robinson, Frost, Masters, Sandburg and Vachel Lindsay. Then came the turn of the new novelists: Cabell (after the English publication of *Jurgen*), Hergesheimer, Willa Cather, Lewis and Dreiser, in about that order of priority. Sinclair Lewis, however, was the first of them to reach the broadest book-reading public; not with *Main Street*, but in England with *Babbitt* (1922); in Germany and Scandinavia with *Arrowsmith*. He was also the first American to win the Nobel Prize for literature.

THAT PRIZE, first awarded in 1901, had become the highest recognition of a successful literary career. Until 1930 it had gone to twenty-nine writers from thirteen countries: five times to Frenchmen and five times to Germans; twice each to Englishmen, Spaniards, Italians and Poles; once each to a Belgian, a Bengali, a Swiss and an Irishman; seven times to natives of the Scandinavian countries; never to a Russian or an American. It had been granted to famous men and women like Romain Rolland, Anatole France, William Butler Yeats, George Bernard Shaw, Thomas Mann, Sigrid Undset, Selma Lagerlöf. It had also been granted to writers raised for a moment to international eminence, then sinking back to the purely local reputations they deserved. Before the First World War, there had been two Americans clearly qualified for the prize, Mark Twain and Henry James, but both of them had been passed over. And so, when the 1930 prize went to Sinclair Lewis, it was in recognition not only of his own achievements but of the whole new literature he had come to represent in foreign eyes.

In his acceptance speech before the Swedish Academy, Lewis acted out his role as a literary ambassador; he spoke not so much for himself as for a whole generation of American writers, the generation that had revolted against the genteel tradition. Old Dr. Van Dyke, of Princeton, had recently told the daily press that giving Lewis the Nobel Prize was an insult to America. The outburst was an opportunity for Lewis in his address to attack not only Van Dyke but the institutions he seemed to be representing: that is, the big universities, genteel criticism and the American Academy. All three had failed, so Lewis said, to foster good American writing; instead they were "effusively seeking to guide America into becoming a pale edition of an English cathedral town." Our literature had grown to maturity in spite of them. There was now a large group of American writers who deserved international recognition; but no matter which one of them had been awarded the prize, there would have been the same complaints from the academic critics. Lewis then named the men and women he regarded as the most important American writers, with a brief citation for each of them: Theodore Dreiser, Eugene O'Neill, James Branch Cabell, Willa Cather, H. L. Mencken, Sherwood Anderson, Upton Sinclair, Joseph Hergesheimer and Ernest Hemingway. This was the major part of his address; but later came another passage in which he saluted a second group of writers: the "young Americans today who are doing such passionate and authentic work that it makes me sick to see that I am a little too old to be one of them"; this time he mentioned Hemingway (again), Wolfe, Wilder, Dos Passos, Stephen Benét, Gold and Faulkner. "I salute them," he concluded, "with a joy in being not yet too far removed from their determination to give the America that has mountains and endless prairies . . . that is as strange as Russia and as complex as China, a literature worthy of her vastness."

IT WAS an eloquent but mistaken tribute, since most of these younger writers were trying to be lyrical, not epical; intense rather than broad. During the next three years, books by all except Benét were translated into most of the European languages—partly as a result of Lewis' address, which publishers had read attentively when it was reprinted in the European press. Most of the authors in the other and older group were already internationally known. One of them, Eugene O'Neill, whose plays were even more popular in Sweden than elsewhere in Europe, received the Nobel Prize in 1936. It seemed that the Swedish Academy was trying to atone to American writers for its years of neglect. Pearl Buck won the prize in 1938. Lewis hadn't mentioned her name in his address, but that was a natural omission, considering that her first successful novel hadn't appeared until the year after he spoke in Stockholm. In general he had chosen the American writers, except the newest and the most popular, whom Europe would be reading for the next ten years.

The 1930's in European literature were an American decade. The world had been choosing sides, as for a game of prisoners' base, and America was the last great neutral, the country whose books could be praised simultaneously in Moscow, Berlin, Paris and Buenos Aires. The international best-sellers, the books that poured over Europe like a tide from the West, were all of American origin: *The Good Earth*, *Anthony Adverse*, *Northwest Passage*, *Gone with the Wind*, *The Grapes of Wrath*. All these and many other American novels were filmed in Hollywood, and there is no question that the films helped their European sales: thus, in 1945 a Budapest publisher had stored away a new edition of 10,000 copies of *Gone with the Wind*, planning to release them as soon as the motion picture had its first Hungarian showing. On a less commercial level, almost all the authors praised and imitated in various countries for their technical skill were also American: Hemingway, Dos Passos, Faulkner, Caldwell and, in surprisingly

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOUR BOOKS BY UPTON SINCLAIR JUST OFF THE PRESS!

• Vol. 1. THE BOOK OF THE MIND
• Vol. 2. THE BOOK OF THE BODY
• Vol. 3. THE BOOK OF LOVE
• Vol. 4. THE BOOK OF SOCIETY

These 4 volumes constitute Upton Sinclair's THE BOOK OF LIFE.

Vol. 1 contains 100 pages, about 50,000 words. Vol. 2 contains 96 pages, about 45,000 words. Vol. 3 contains 96 pages, about 45,000 words. Vol. 4 contains 115 pages, about 50,000 words.

These four books contain practical counsel discussing the conduct of life from modern standards. They answer the question: What do present day men and women need to know in order to live wisely? Another question Sinclair asks and answers: What are the paths to happiness, the laws of health both of mind and body? Upton Sinclair, in these four books, discusses these questions in simple language and a spirit of good fellowship.

During the first 42 years of his life, says Upton Sinclair, he made many painful mistakes, but he learned much from them. Looking about him, he sees others making these same mistakes, suffering for lack of that same knowledge which he has so painfully acquired. This being the case, it seems a friendly act to offer his knowledge, minus the blunders and the pain. That explains the reason for writing the four books listed above.

Upton Sinclair writes as follows on the claims that may be made for the four books listed in this announcement:

"First, they are modern books. Their writer watches hour by hour the new achievements of the human mind, he reaches out for information about them, he seeks to adjust his own thoughts to them and to test them in his own living. Second, they are, or try hard to be, wise books; their writer is not among those too-ardent young radicals who leap to the conclusion that because many old things are stupid and tiresome, therefore everything that is old is to be spurned with contempt, and everything that proclaims itself new is to be taken at its own valuation. Third, these are honest books; their writer doesn't pretend to know what he only guesses, and where it is necessary to guess he says so frankly. Finally, they are kind books; they were not writen for their author's glory, nor for his enrichment, but to tell you things that may be useful to you in the brief span of your life."

In these four books Upton Sinclair attempts to tell you how to live, how to find health and happiness and success, how to work and how to play, how to eat and how to sleep, how to love and to marry and to care for your children, how to deal with your fellow men in business and politics and social life, how to think, what art to enjoy, what books to read. A large order, as the boys phrase it!

You will get a good idea of what Upton Sinclair covers in these four volumes by studying each book's chapter headings, as follows:

THE BOOK OF THE MIND. 1. The Nature of Life. 2. The Nature of Faith. 3. The Use of Reason. 4. The Origin of Morality. 5. Nature and Man. 6. Man the Rebel. 7. Making Our Morals. 8. The Virtue of Moderation. 9. The Choosing of Life. 10. Myself and My Neighbors. 11. The Mind and the Body. 12. The Mind of the Body. 13. Exploring the Subconscious. 14. The Problem of Immortality. 15. Survival. 16. The Powers of the Mind. 17. The Conduct of the Mind.

THE BOOK OF THE BODY. 1. The Unity of the Body. 2. Experiments in Diet. 3. Errors in Diet. 4. Diet Standards. 5. Foods and Poisons. 6. More About Health. 7. Work and Play. 8. The Fasting Cure. 9. Breaking the Fast. 10 Diseases and Cures.

THE BOOK OF LOVE. 1. The Reality of Marriage. 2. The Development of Marriage. 3. Sex and Young America. 4. Sex and the "Smart Set." 5. Sex and the Poor. 6. Sex and Nature. 7. Love and Economics. 8. Marriage and Money. 9. Love versus Lust. 10. Celibacy versus Chastity. 11. The Defense of Love. 12. Birth Control. 13. Early Marriage. 14. The Marriage Club. 15. Education for Marriage. 16. The Money Side of Marriage. 17. The Defense of Monogamy. 18. The Problem of Jealousy. 19. The Problem of Divorce. 20. The Restriction of Divorce.

THE BOOK OF SOCIETY. 1. The Ego and the World. 2. Competition and Co-operation. 3. Aristocracy and Democracy. 4. Ruling Classes. 5. The Process of Social Evolution. 6. Industrial Evolution. 7. The Class Struggle. 8. The Capitalist System. 9. The Capitalist Process. 10. Hard Times. 11. The Iron Ring. 12. Foreign Markets. 13. Capitalist War. 14. The Possibilities of Production. 15. The Cost of Competition. 16. Socialism and Syndicalism. 17. Communism and Anarchism. 18. Social Revolution. 19. Confiscation or Compensation. 20. Expropriating the Expropriators. 21. The Problem of the Land. 22. The Control of Credit. 23. The Control of Industry. 24. The New World. 25. Agricultural Production. 26. Intellectual Production. 27. Mankind Remade.

In all, these four volumes contain 425 large pages, 5½ x 8½ inches in size, printed in readable type.

All 4 volumes may be had for $2, prepaid. If you order less than the complete set of 4 volumes, please remit at the rate of 75¢ per book, prepaid. At that rate the 4 books would cost $3, but buying all 4 books at one time for $2 means a saving of $1. Please mail your order today. These books are ready for immediate delivery.

E. HALDEMAN-JULIUS, Box 1533, Girard, Kansas

ORDER BLANK FOR SINCLAIR'S 4 VOLUMES

E. Haldeman-Julius, Box 1533, Girard, Kansas

Enclosed please find $2, which is payment in full for all four volumes by Upton Sinclair, as follows: 1. *The Book of the Mind.* 2. *The Book of the Body.* 3. *The Book of Love.* 4. *The Book of Society.* Prepaid. (If you order fewer than the four volumes that constitute this set of Sinclair's *Book of Life*, remit at the rate of 75¢ per volume, prepaid. There is a marked saving when all 4 books are ordered for $2.

Name.....

Address.....

City.....

State.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

high intellectual circles, the hard-boiled realists like Dashiell Hammett and James M. Cain.

The 1930's were also the fascist decade. As freedom of speech and publication was abolished in one country after another, wave after wave of European scholars and writers arrived in New York: first the Italians, then the Germans, then the Spaniards (on their way to Mexico), then the Austrians with a few Czechs and Hungarians; then, after the new war started, hundreds of writers escaping from the occupied countries, including German and White Russian refugees who had been living in France. Some of them, chiefly the brighter novelists, went on to Hollywood; most of them stayed in New York. There was a time early in the 1940's when all the literary capitals of Europe existed in miniature on the upper West Side, with a Broadway cafeteria as their international meeting place, instead of the Café Central in Vienna. Books by Germans, Frenchmen, Czechs, Poles were published here from manuscript, usually in translation but often in the original language, when they could not appear in the authors' native countries. New York, which in 1890 had been a provincial literary center just taking over the leadership from Boston and hardly more important than Edinburgh or Dublin; which in 1920 had been the undisputed center of literary activity for one nation, was now the literary center of the world.

Abroad the interest in American literature was stimulated by the flood of books distributed to American soldiers, in the Armed Services Edition, and by the minature overseas editions of magazines like *Time*, the *New Yorker* and the *Reader's Digest;* a few copies of each would fall into foreign hands. The Office of War Information had a cultural program, on a modest scale, in Europe and the Orient; the Office of Inter-American Affairs had a more ambitious program in Latin America. The world was waiting for American books; not long after V-E Day the French and Russian publishers' lists were full of American titles, and one of the first new trade books published in Germany during the occupation was a translation of one of Hemingway's novels.

THERE WERE SIGNS, however, that the American tide was about to recede. In France there had been a literary revival after 1941; and in England after 1945 authors released from uniforms or government service had time to write their own books instead of reading importations. Moreover, Europe and America had such different experiences during the war that it was becoming hard to maintain intellectual communication between them. European critics had interpreted the American books of the 1930's as a prophecy of universal violence and disaster. "These American novelists," said Jacques Berthier in 1946, reviewing three newly translated books by Hemingway, Caldwell and Dos Passos, "had presented before the war a picture of the methodical decomposition of humanity, in an atmosphere of blackmail, prostitution, drunkenness and gunplay. All that became the fate of mankind." But now that the implicit prophecy of these and other American novelists had been fulfilled, the Europeans who survived the disaster were looking for new types of literature; and there was some doubt how many of the books that expressed their postwar mood would come from America.

MALCOLM COWLEY

Physiocracy at Dead End

A Few Brass Tacks, by Louis Bromfield. New York: Harper and Brothers. 303 pages. $2.75.

IT IS always interesting to see what a writer with no professional training in the subject can bring to a discussion of economic problems. Some of the most fertile economists have begun in this way. Usually, however, one learns from ventures of the sort more about the author than about the subject. This is true of Louis Bromfield's *Brass Tacks*.

Mr. Bromfield's equipment is that of a successful novelist, a gentleman farmer with a passion for agriculture, desultory reading and overgrown prejudices. He has discovered the truism that money is not real wealth. From this he goes on to the overemphasis of the importance of agriculture and natural resources which was characteristic of the eighteenth-century Physiocrats, and was elaborated by them with far greater analytical skill than Mr. Bromfield possesses. He is apparently ignorant of the devastating criticism of physiocratic conclusions made by Adam Smith and others. It has never occurred to him that wealth does not inhere in raw materials but arises only when man applies to them labor informed by science and technology. If it were not so, the American Indians would have been far richer than the present inhabitants of this continent, since they had only scratched the surface of its natural endowment and there were fewer of them.

Mr. Bromfield includes many valid observations about conservation of the soil and other requirements of the agriculture which he knows. These observations are not new. On the basis of his misconception of wealth, however, he erects a fearsome structure of isolation. Since the United States possesses great natural resources, he believes that it can only dissipate them for ignoble ends if it collaborates with smaller European nations which have to import a large part of their food and materials. The processing and service functions which they contribute he regards as exploitation which can be continued only through imperialistic dominance. The logical conclusion of this view would not only isolate the United States from the rest of the world but would isolate its own farms, forests and mines from the cities and industrial regions within its borders. Mr. Bromfield ought to advocate the abolition of New York, Chicago, Pittsburgh and Detroit if he wants to be consistent. Indeed, one may infer from much that he says that he would like to do so.

G. S.

A Reader's List

Minority Problems in the Public Schools, by Theodore Brameld (Harper, $2.50). Dr. Brameld attempts to find out what administrative practices in schools help or hinder the development of good human relations. His book surveys with some considerable detail the policies of seven school systems in cities ranging in population from 80,000 to one million. Demographic and occupational patterns are analyzed as well as such factors as community relations, administrative machinery, educational organization, activity programs and parent-teacher cooperation. The guiding philosophies in these school systems were mixed: both clear-cut progressivism and the more usual acceptance of traditional values were evident. Nor was there a marked

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

H.G.WELLS—Prophet of the Atomic Bomb

Read his latest book:

"CRUX ANSATA—An Indictment of the Roman Catholic Church"

An historical summary of the Catholic Church's political intrigues leading to its tie-up with the Nazi-Fascist-Shinto Axis.

Cloth Binding $1.75

Also get a copy of

"BEHIND THE DICTATORS," by L. H. Lehmann
A fully documented analysis of Vatican-Fascist collaboration.

Cloth Binding $1.75

COMBINATION OFFER

Both Cloth Bound Books $3.00

New Pamphlet

"VATICAN POLICY IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR"

48 pages of Documented Facts . . . 25¢

☞ *Free to those who return this ad with their order for the above books*

Order from:

AGORA PUBLISHING CO., Dept. 752
229 WEST 48TH STREET NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

"SEEDED BOMB"
A LETTER TO THE BIG THREE
by HONEST MAN
An engineer's suggestion of economic policies for the peace and happiness of mankind, a message for the immediate as well as for the distant future. 63 pp., Ill., 33¢ postpaid—Postage stamps accepted.
Order from: **G. F. RAMIREZ**
911 Rhinelander Avenue, New York 60, N. Y.

POSITION WANTED

ATTORNEY (Veteran) desires position in field of labor law. Harvard, 1937; 4 years experience general practice New York City. Army counter-intelligence. Address: Box 786, The New Republic.

OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKS

NINETY COOPERATING BOOKSELLERS in 15 Cities with several MILLION Books invite your inquiries. Mention interests if catalogs are wanted. American Antiquarian Booksellers, 529 S. Melville St., Phila. 43, Pa.

BOOKLET

STAGEFRIGHT, its cause and cure. Booklet $1.00. Goodhue Studio, 56 Fayerweather St., Cambridge 38, Mass.

STATIONERY

BOX STATIONERY — Your name and address printed on 75 sheets, 75 envelopes of Rippletone Bond. $1.25 per box. Sheet size 7¼ x 10½. Blue ink. NEWBERY'S, Dept. NR, Girard, Kansas.

MAGAZINE SUBSCRIPTIONS

SUBSCRIBE FOR PERIODICALS by asking me for any number at a time. Pay after I bill you at publishers' lowest prices. Catalog NR, free. John Crehore, Postbox 2329-B, Washington 13. D. C.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Buy Bonds—To Keep

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

trend towar decentralization or greater staff participation in policy-making. Intercultural programs were consequently varied; only a few of the school systems made deliberate efforts to meet the minority problem. The various cities are identified only as Massopolis or Dynaboro. This is unfortunate, for it would have been helpful to know which cities are making a mess of teaching democracy.

The Concentration of Economic Power, by David Lynch (Columbia, $5.50). When the Temporary National Economic Committee completed its hearings in 1941 the archives received over six feet of sprawling testimony and special studies which purported to diagnose all our economic aches. Mr. Lynch has codified the material and for the first time the conglomerate pile of evidence begins to make sense. He describes briefly the origin of the TNEC, its personnel and purpose, and tells us why it failed to bring forth meaningful results. The basic economic question of our time —the breakdown of purchasing power— had been cogently stated by Leon Henderson, Isidor Lubin and Alvin Hansen. The evidence of monopoly in steel, oil, milk, insurance and investment banking supported the contentions of these witnesses. Yet the final TNEC report could only recommend more anti-trust legislation, federal incorporation and minor revision to the patent laws. Mr. Lynch rightly attributes the weakness of the TNEC to its hybrid character, its planlessness and its marked reluctance to probe for real causes. Its failure was tragically emphasized when basic economic questions were ultimately answered by war.

There's Work for All, by Michael Young and Theodor Prager (Essential Books, $2.50). Two British economists intelligently summarize the main thoughts of the Beveridge and Keynesian proposals for a healthy economic order. They clearly describe the terrifying costs of economic collapse and stress disproportionate income distribution and "underspending" as the basic causes. Early retirement, reduction of the work week and fancy monetary schemes are rejected as false and inadequate remedies for depression; only public investment and a redistribution of income, they say, will prove effective. The particular devices recommended here are well known to readers of Beveridge: they include fiscal measures, control of factory location, investment regulation and retraining schemes. This slim volume is excellent for those unfamiliar with recent economic thinking. The many photographs and colored pictorial charts alone are well worth the price.

Just Out 10¢

A score of America's distinguished leaders — statesmen, authors, educators, scientists, industrialists — tell in personal terms: "Why I Believe in Advancing Unitarianism and Religious Liberalism." Read the personal statements of celebrated modern men who are devoted to the church that meant so much to Presidents Jefferson, John Adams, John Quincy Adams, Fillmore, Taft; to Scientists Darwin, Priestley, Steinmetz; to Authors Dickens, Longfellow, Holmes, Emerson, Hale, Hawthorne, Thoreau; Educators Horace Mann, Peter Cooper, etc.

MAIL WITH 10¢ TO:
American Unitarian Assoc., 25 Beacon Street, Boston 8, Mass. I enclose 10¢. Please send above publication.

*Name*_____

*Address*_____ R66

GOOD USED BOOKS
History, Biography, Art, Fiction, Languages, Poetry, etc., etc.
H. H. Evans, Bookseller
3319 Sacramento St., San Francisco 18
Free Catalogs Mailed on Request

Invest NOW in a

WRITING CAREER

Invest in Your Own Future by Learning to Write Under Expert Guidance

The Magazine Institute, a private school owned and operated by successful writers and editors, offers practical, personal training in writing for magazines. You work in your own home, in spare time. Every assignment is returned with detailed criticism.

FICTION OR NON-FICTION

You may concentrate on either short story or article work, or you may experiment with several fields. The Magazine Institute training is not a textbook course but a series of fascinating writing tasks which lead to the actual preparation, under editorial direction, of short stories, articles, feature stories, whatever you are best fitted to do.

FREE CATALOG

Send TODAY for our free catalog which tells all about opportunities in magazine writing.

THE MAGAZINE INSTITUTE, INC.
Dept. 47-D, 50 Rockefeller Plaza, Rockefeller Center, New York 20, N. Y.

Please send me your free catalog. This inquiry is confidential and no salesman will call on me.

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... Zone... State.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS

Editorials
After the OPA 3
Trieste Time-Bomb 6
Washington Wire . . . . . T.R.B. 7
General Articles
Monopoly Tightens Its Grip . Nathan Robertson 8
How We Won in Massachusetts . . . . . Henry B. Silberman 10
China Moves a River . Lawrence K. Rosinger 11
UN Observer . . . Edward Montgomery 13
Olivier's "Henry V" . . . Manny Farber 14
The Bandwagon 14
Correspondence 15
Books in Review
American Books Overseas . . Malcolm Cowley 16
Physiocracy at Dead End . . . . . G. S. 20
A Reader's List 20
New Republic News 22

Women and Work, by Gertrude Williams (Essential Books, $2.50). Opposition to women in industry, says Mrs. Williams, is based partly on nineteenth-century habits of thought, partly on poor working conditions and partly on union fear of new competition. But modern technology makes working processes less complex and the need for certain skills, such as deftness in operation, nullifies the archaic middle-class attitude that women must be "ladies" and objects of display. Wartime experience proved that women can be efficient in industry. Mrs. Williams disposes of all the easy generalizations which support unequal treatment of women, and her arguments, bolstered by photographs, pictorial charts and statistics, are difficult to refute. She does not believe that a career and homemaking are incompatible: there must be a new design, she says, in which "the intimate and intensely personal responsibilities of the home are reconciled with the less personal but vital obligations to the larger community."

Caribbean: Sea of the New World, by Germán Arciniegas (Knopf, $3.75). Señor Arciniegas has a flair for bits of colorful detail and the kind of gossip which makes history come alive. In this study of the Caribbean, he covers the ground from its discovery to the end of the nineteenth century, sometimes at breakneck speed, but always divertingly. Not the least of the book's virtues are a series of thumbnail biographies of such figures as Amerigo Vespucci, Raleigh, Toussaint, Miranda, Lafitte, William Walker and de Lessep. Since this sea is the gateway to the new world, it has reflected all the rivalries which have created European wars as if in a hand-mirror, and here the chess game of colonial territorial grabbing was played out until the United States swept the pieces off the board with the Monroe Doctrine. Arciniegas covers too much ground to contribute anything new in the way of interpretation of history. The task he has set himself is popularization, and this he has done well. Being a Colombian, he ends his book with the story of the Panama Canal and an acid account of Theodore Roosevelt's banditry. North American readers will perhaps understand more clearly why there is always a residue of bitterness in the Latin American's attitude toward the United States on reading the quotes from Roosevelt's letters in which the hero of the big stick refers to the Columbians as "those jackrabbits."

THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM OF GERMANY

By ALVIN JOHNSON and ERNEST HAMBURGER

A factual analysis of Germany's resources and a constructive plan for making Allied economic policy workable

35 cents

Reprinted from *Social Research* as an Occasional Paper of the

INSTITUTE OF WORLD AFFAIRS, 66 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, N. Y.

New Republic News

A few days ago we discovered that during the winter of 1944 one of our regular readers, then in the Royal Canadian Air Force, was stationed on an island off the tip of Labrador. Cut off by sleet, storm, snow and ice, the only contact was by air; the only supplies came by parachute.

There, fluttering down with the Spam, the letters from home, the carefully wrapped radio tubes and the home-knit woolen socks, bright and cheery but a couple of months old, was the *New Republic*. Our reader reports that it had just the right specific gravity—not so heavy as to plunge the whole bundle into the earth, not so light that it kept the parachute from descending.

• • •

New York radio station WLIB devoted its June 23 "Liberty Forum" to a discussion of "Operation Plunder" and the shipping scandal. Author Allen Bernard, whose series under that title was published in the *New Republic* beginning in the issue of May 13, appeared with Professor Grossman of New York University...Contributing editor Julian Huxley recently returned to London from Mexico City, which he had been visiting for UNESCO...Ralph Martin gave up the jalopy idea, and now is waiting for a new car to be delivered to him in St. Louis before going further on his tour of the U. S. We've clipped a copy of "Facts About the National Economy" from last week's issue and mailed it to him. See you in a couple of years, Ralph.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

Editors: BRUCE BLIVEN, GEORGE SOULE, MICHAEL STRAIGHT, STARK YOUNG
Managing Editor: NORMAN GRIESER
Treasurer: DANIEL MEBANE
Associate Editors: HELEN FULLER, GEORGE MAYBERRY
Assistant Editors: HEINZ EULAU, ELIZABETH HULING, RALPH G. MARTIN
Contributing Editors: H. N. BRAILSFORD, MALCOLM COWLEY, JULIAN HUXLEY, E. C. LINDEMAN, THOMAS SANCTON, REXFORD GUY TUGWELL
Advertising Manager: E. C. WOOD

SINGLE COPIES, FIFTEEN CENTS; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, SIX DOLLARS; CANADIAN SUBSCRIPTION, SEVEN DOLLARS; FOREIGN, SEVEN DOLLARS; TEN WEEKS' TRIAL, ONE DOLLAR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MOTION PICTURES

HAL WALLIS Presents
ROBERT YOUNG • SYLVIA SIDNEY
ANN RICHARDS
"THE SEARCHING WIND"
From the Broadway play by LILLIAN HELLMAN
A PARAMOUNT PICTURE

— IN PERSON —
ANDY RUSSELL
PLUS
ALAN CARNEY
•
THE PIED PIPERS
•
Extra Added Attraction
RAYMOND SCOTT
And His New 1946 Band

NOW PARAMOUNT TIMES SQUARE

STAGE PLAY

"A smash hit of enormous proportions." — *Ward Morehouse, Sun.*

MAX GORDON *presents*
BORN YESTERDAY
The New Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street East of B'way. CH. 4-4256
Evenings 8:40. Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:40. AIR-COND.

The special resort rate of THE NEW REPUBLIC is $6.16 an inch (2¼ x 1). Larger space in proportion. Discounts for repeat insertions. Address: Advertising Department, 40 East 49th Street, New York 17, N. Y.

MOTION PICTURES

Manhattan
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
81st ST.
86th ST.
58th ST. near Lex.
HAMILTON
125th ST.
REGENT
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.

Bronx
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

Westchester
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

RKO NOW

"Spreads a wild gayety flavored with Gallic impudence" —*N. Y. World-Telegram*

GINGER ROGERS
in SAM WOOD'S
'HEARTBEAT'
JEAN PIERRE AUMONT
Adolphe Menjou • Basil Rathbone
— AND —
WITH
'BEDLAM' BORIS KARLOFF

Brooklyn
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYOU
Coney Island

Queens
Keith's FLUSHING
Keith's RICH. HILL
STRAND Far Rockaway

Manhattan
COLONIAL B'way & 82 St.

"Entertainment at its subtle best!" —*N. Y. World-Telegram.*

DARRYL F. ZANUCK *Presents*
GENE TIERNEY • VINCENT PRICE
'DRAGONWYCK'
From ANYA SETON'S Novel
— AND —
'DING DONG WILLIAMS'
MARCY McGUIRE • GLENN VERNON

2nd Week
RKO
ALBEE
FULTON & DE KALB BROOKLYN

Maureen O'HARA • Dick HAYMES • Harry JAMES
'DO YOU LOVE ME'
IN TECHNICOLOR
— AND —
'DARK CORNER' Lucille BALL William BENDIX

LANGUAGES

ALL LANGUAGES. Phonograph Courses. Linguaphone, other makes. Sold, bought, rented. A. A. Alin, 475 5th Avenue, New York 17. MU. 3-1093.

29 LANGUAGES by Linguaphone, Russian, Spanish, Portuguese—Direct conversational method of mastering any language quickly, easily, correctly at home. Send for FREE book. LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE, 86 RCA Bldg., New York. CI. 7-0830.

TOBACCO

CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum 3 cartons. Price $1.40 per carton; postpaid. Send check or money order. Ace Mail Order Co., East Orange B, N. J.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING ANALYSIS
Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 5-0958
Recognized by hospitals, doctors, psychologists, schools; employed by firms and industries. Lessons. By appointment only. Marital education, vocational, psychological problems. Fee $3.00.

RESORTS

SCHROON Crest
"In The Adirondacks" Pottersville, N. Y.
SPECIAL RATES UNTIL JULY 7th
Private Beach. Canoes. Boating. All Sports. Recordings. Playhouse. Bar. Dancing Nightly. Jules Adolphe & His Group, Harry Alshin & Orchestra. Excellent Cuisine • Make Reservations Early
N. Y. City Off.: PHONE, MAin 4-8570
LEAH OKUN — IRV. SCHOENBERG, Mgt.
An Adult Resort — On SCHROON LAKE

MERRIEWOODE
A Camp for Adults Stoddard, N. H.
FOR YOUR ENJOYMENT: Beautiful Highland Lake, 10 miles long, with good fishing and free use of boats and canoes; interesting hiking objectives thru woodland trails; fine tennis and handball courts, badminton, shuffleboard, archery, riflery, croquet, ping-pong, square dancing.
$45 & $50 weekly. OLIVE H. G. BARON, Dir.

CABINS

GRANITE LAKE CABINS for adults. Swimming, boating, fishing. Good food. Private baths. June 30 to Sept. 16. From $80.00 weekly, double. American Plan. Box [illegible] Munsonville, New Hampshire.

Printed by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The SCIENTISTS DO NOT STAND ALONE

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS, PRESIDENT

CLASS OF SERVICE: This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

SYMBOLS: DL=Day Letter; NL=Night Letter; LC=Deferred Cable; NLT=Cable Night Letter; Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

ZC4 NL PD=PRINCETON NJER 22

OUR WORLD FACES CRISIS AS YET UNPERCEIVED BY THOSE POSSESSING POWER TO MAKE GREAT DECISIONS FOR GOOD OR EVIL UNLEASHED POWER OF THE ATOM HAS CHANGED EVERYTHING SAVE OUR MODES OF THINKING AND WE THUS DRIFT TOWARD UNPARALLELED CATASTROPHE. WE SCIENTISTS WHO RELEASED THIS IMMENSE POWER HAVE OVERWHELMING RESPONSIBILITY IN THIS WORLD LIFE AND DEATH STRUGGLE TO HARNESS ATOM FOR BENEFIT OF MANKIND AND NOT FOR HUMANITYS DESTRUCTION BETHE CONDON SZILARD UREY AND FEDERATION OF AMERICAN SCIENTISTS JOIN ME IN THIS APPEAL AND BEG YOU TO SUPPORT OUR EFFORTS TO BRING REALIZATION TO AMERICA THAT MANKIND'S DESTINY IS BEING DECIDED TODAY NOW THIS MOMENT WE NEED TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS AT ONCE FOR NATIONWIDE CAMPAIGN TO LET THE PEOPLE KNOW THAT NEW TYPE OF THINKING ESSENTIAL IF MANKIND IS TO SURVIVE AND MOVE TOWARD HIGHER LEVELS. THIS APPEAL SENT YOU ONLY AFTER LONG CONSIDERATION OF IMMENSE CRISIS WE FACE= URGENTLY REQUEST YOU SEND IMMEDIATE CHECK TO ME AS CHAIRMAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE OF ATOMIC SCIENTISTS PRINCETON NEW JERSEY WE ASK YOUR HELP IN THIS FATEFUL MOMENT AS SIGN THAT WE SCIENTISTS DO NOT STAND ALONE=

ALBERT EINSTEIN.

Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists
90 Nassau Street
Princeton, N. J.

ALBERT EINSTEIN, *Chairman*
R. F. BACHER
HANS A. BETHE
EDWARD U. CONDON
T. R. HOGNESS
LEO SZILARD
HAROLD C. UREY
V. F. WEISSKOPF

$70,000 of the $200,000 educational fund sought by the scientists was subscribed within one month by several hundred friends [illegible] Professor

$130,000

you help?

ALBERT EINSTEIN, Chairman
Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists
90 Nassau Street, Princeton, N. J.

NB

☐ I enclose $.....for your nationwide educational campaign through the agency of the National Committee on Atomic Information. (*Contributions deductible for income tax purposes*)

NAME.....

STREET and NUMBER.....

CITY.....STATE.....

Please make checks payable to ALBERT EINSTEIN, Chairman

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED